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CONVENTION

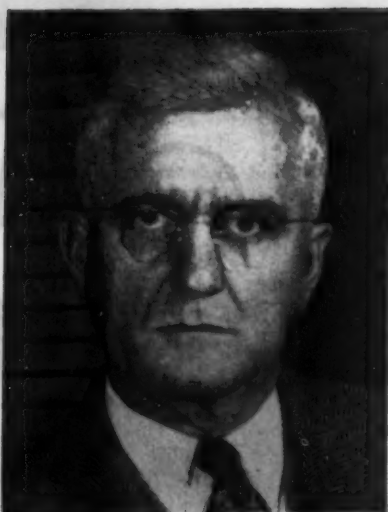
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OCTOBER

1948

THE  
AMERICAN  
TEACHER



# The AFT Today

Excerpts from the Convention Address of

**PRESIDENT JOSEPH F. LANDIS**

**T**HE American Federation of Teachers today has established itself in the esteem, the confidence, and the respect of the nation. Because of the increased prestige of the organization, AFT members have recently been appointed to important positions in the field of education.

Selma Borchardt, our Washington representative, has, since its inception, been a member of the U.S. Commission on UNESCO, a Commission which has the job of counseling, of guiding and advising the U.S. delegation to UNESCO.

Your chairman had the honor to be designated by President Truman, undoubtedly through the recommendation of President Green of the AFL, to be Labor Adviser to the U.S. delegation at the UNESCO meeting in Mexico City.

We also have members attending the three great international seminars conducted this summer by UNESCO. Mrs. Rebecca Simonson, AFT vice-president from New York, is one of the two U.S. delegates to the Seminar on Childhood Education, held in Czechoslovakia; Dr. Thomas C. Herndon, of the Richmond, Ky., local, is one of six Americans attending the Seminar on the Education and Training of Teachers, at Barkhamstead, England; Henrietta Hafemann, of the Chicago local, is one of six U.S. delegates in New York attending the Seminar on Teaching about the United Nations.

A number of our officers and members throughout the nation have been invited to serve as members of screening committees which select applicants for exchange teaching in Canada and Great Britain.

In the U.S. Office of Education we have established recognition. Mrs. Natalie Ousley, AFT

vice-president, is a member of the Committee on Zeal for American Democracy. Dr. George S. Counts, former AFT president, is a member of the Committee on Fundamental Education. Flora Philley, of the Gary local, is a member of the Committee on Elementary Education, and your chairman had the honor to be appointed as an adviser to the Committee on Secondary Education.

I cite these instances to indicate that we have somewhat broken down those barriers which have been created by the self-styled "professional" teachers' organizations, which have endeavored to exclude the representatives of the teacher union movement from participation in the guidance and determination of educational policy.

## **The Problem of Teacher Shortage**

I was interested in a recent article by Dr. Benjamin Fine. With most of his recommendations I would agree. He advocated federal aid in adequate amounts, increased state and local financial support for schools, removal of restrictions on the civil rights of teachers, and elimination of the handicaps imposed by tyrannical types of school administrations. He stated that we are living in a dream world if we think the teacher shortage and the problems of education will be solved rapidly. He pointed out what the AFT has been emphasizing for several years—that the birth and marital rates have increased in the past few years in excess of any prior years in the nation's history, and the infant mortality rate is the lowest of any time in our history. This means that in six years our schools will be terrifically crowded with an influx of new pupils, imposed upon an educational system that cannot now meet even the normal needs of our schools.

He called attention to the fact that by 1955, 5 million more children will be in our elementary schools. The teaching staff will have to be doubled. And we need right now, for this year, 150,000 new teachers, although our teacher training institutions are turning out only 10,000. And

*(Continued on page 7)*

October, 1948

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# The American Teacher

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## COLORADO CONVENTION Develops AFT Policies for 1948-49

THE first AFT convention to be held west of the Mississippi took place July 7-11 at Glenwood Springs, Colo., where delegates from a large proportion of the approximately 400 AFT locals assembled to consider some of the current problems in education, in teacher welfare, in AFT organization, and in national and international affairs, and to develop policies to guide AFT activities throughout the ensuing year.

Most of the delegates arrived on July 6 in time to attend the pre-convention conference on education and international relations, at which Selma Borchardt, chairman of AFT's Committee on International Relations, presided. Dr. Kendrick Marshall, Chief of the Division of International Relations, U.S. Office of Education, and Hon. Edward Johnson, U.S. Senator from Colorado, delivered the principal addresses, after which there was a panel discussion on the subject, "Essentials for an Educational Reconstruction Pro-

gram." The panel speakers talked on the educational needs and programs in Britain, China, Japan, and South America.

The convention was opened Wednesday morning, July 7, with greetings from representatives of the Colorado AFT locals, Colorado labor, and the city of Denver. President Joseph F. Landis then delivered his address (*see page 2*).

In the first afternoon session there were reports by the Executive Council and by Secretary-Treasurer Irvin R. Kuenzli (*see page 8*), after which the various convention committees met and started their work.

Thursday morning's program included the report by Selma Borchardt, AFT's Washington representative (*see page 19*), and an address by Hon. John A. Carroll, U.S. Congressman from Colorado, on "Education and International Relations."

At the close of the session Mr. Kuenzli read



the following letter from President Truman:

Dear Mr. Kuenzli:

Please express my cordial greetings and good wishes to the American Federation of Teachers at their annual convention at Glenwood Springs, Colorado.

The activities of the American Federation of Teachers in international educational relations, as described in your letter, should be of great value. They reflect the continuing concern of all segments of our people for the rehabilitation of a war-devastated world, and the inauguration of a new era of international peace and goodwill. With that goal in view, we must continue to labor indefatigably—teachers and citizens alike, around the world.

It is my earnest prayer that the time will soon come when with international fears, suspicions, and misunderstandings abated, teachers will be free to build through education the firm foundations of lasting peace and international friendship.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) HARRY TRUMAN

Mrs. Florence R. Greve, AFT's Research Director, talked at the Thursday afternoon session on "Research Problems in the AFT." The rest of this session was devoted to a panel on current problems in various locals throughout the country.

Nominations for the AFT presidency and the fifteen vice-presidencies were made at the Friday morning session. Dr. Floyd Reeves, chairman of AFT's Commission on Educational Reconstruction, then made his report (see page 14).

Preceding the Friday afternoon session there was a showing of a 16 mm sound film, "Poverty in the Valley of Plenty," which tells the story of the strikers at the DiGiorgio Fruit Corporation in California. After Ernesto Galarza, of the National Farm Labor Union (AFL), had explained the reasons for the strike, more than \$200 was contributed by the delegates to assist the strikers.

Most of the Friday afternoon session was devoted to a panel discussion of the recently published AFT book, *Goals for American Education*. Participating in the discussion were the three authors, Lester Kirkendall, Irvin R. Kuenzli, and Floyd Reeves, followed by Selma Borchardt, Arthur Elder, and Joseph F. Landis, members of the AFT Commission on Educational Reconstruction.

Then began what might be considered the most important part of the entire convention—the reports of convention committees. It is the action on these reports which determines AFT policies for the next year.

#### Civil and Professional Rights of Teachers

The first committee to report was that on Civil and Professional Rights of Teachers. The convention adopted the committee's resolution reaffirming the AFT stand against certain unfair practices of Congressional and state committees on un-American activities, and urging that the AFT "plan and put into effect a positive and forthright campaign to maintain and further the



● PANEL  
ON CURRENT  
PROBLEMS  
IN LOCALS

Many of the delegates found this part of the program so informative that when the convention hall had to be vacated to allow preparations to be made for the convention dinner, the delegates moved to another room so that all the speakers scheduled could be heard. Somehow, in moving from one room to the other, the five men who had participated in the panel disappeared; so they could not be included in the photograph.



cause of academic freedom throughout the United States."

Approval was voted also for the portion of the Executive Council's report dealing with attacks on the civil rights of teachers and with the tendency to delete from textbooks all favorable references to labor understanding and to the immense contribution of American labor and industry through collective bargaining.

The committee suggested an addition to that part of the Executive Council's report concerning trips to industrial plants. The statement as adopted by the convention was as follows:

We look with disfavor upon the indoctrination of students and teachers in the programs of the National Association of Manufacturers by means of plant trips and the infiltration of their philosophy as exemplified by their propaganda pamphlets used in many school systems. We favor, however, trips through plants when sponsored by labor and management.

*(For other action on civil and professional rights of teachers, see page 27.)*

### Universal Military Training and the Draft

Among the most controversial issues was the question of universal military training. The resolution which was finally adopted was as follows:

WHEREAS, The United States has not adopted universal military training; and

WHEREAS, The United States has throughout its history been relatively free of military conscription; therefore be it

*Resolved*, That the Congress be petitioned not to enact universal military training, while continuing the draft law until peace has been officially declared; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the teacher units enlist the support of parents and civic-minded groups to oppose universal military training, while recognizing the need for the present draft law; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the AFT, through its Research Department, investigate the provisions and operation of the draft law with the view in mind to protect the educational interests of youth who may be affected; and be it finally

*Resolved*, That the AFT urge that the draftees under the new law be made eligible to full benefits under the GI Bill.

### Federal Aid

There was full discussion also on the subject of federal aid to education; but no change was made in the principles adopted by the 1947 AFT convention. The following statement on federal aid was adopted:

Never before have the schools of our country needed more immediate and substantial financial aid, to maintain and develop high standards in their services, to rehabilitate their buildings and facilities, and to pay their teachers wages high enough to enable them to live

### ● DOLLARS FOR THE DI GIORGIO STRIKERS



See page 4  
for details

on a decent cultural plane. The necessity to render the basically necessary welfare services to meet the physical, health, and recreational needs of our children has become a seriously acute problem for vast numbers of American working folk in this period of highest living costs in our country.

The public agency most capable of rendering the extra help that our states and cities must have in adequate amounts is the federal government with its vast tax resources.

This convention of the American Federation of Teachers, therefore, most strongly reaffirms and reiterates its program on federal aid, adopted at its 1947 convention in Boston. Direct help for improving teachers' salaries, for purchasing educational materials, for modernizing school plants, for erasing the inequities of educational opportunity in various sections of our country must be given in full measure to those schools maintained and fully administered in their program and selection of personnel by public agencies elected or publicly selected. It continues to support a program which will make sufficient funds available for giving all children, regardless of the schools which they may attend, those welfare services which have become a necessity in our civilization to make any education meaningful. It will fight for fully protecting the rights and privileges of minorities within such a program while in nowise giving up its fight to end segregation in our public schools forever.

To guarantee that this program becomes a working reality in the very near future, and to help bring an end to the tragic delay of the Congress in acting on this matter, this convention directs its Executive Council to have drafted and introduce legislation to effect our adopted program in so far as possible.

This legislation should also include the appropriation of federal funds for a program to eliminate existing adult illiteracy. It further directs the Executive Council to mobilize the full strength of all locals in order to crystallize the sentiment of people in all parts of the country to impress legislators with their responsibility to the children of America. We call on the Executive Council to organize this campaign immediately so that full and explicit directives for action by each local may be ready by the beginning of the coming school year.

One of the most difficult problems considered by the convention was that of the policy concerning separate, or segregated, locals. In three places where there are separate school systems for white and Negro children, the white teachers and Negro teachers are organized in separate locals. In addition there are some places where only the Negro teachers or only the white teachers are organized. The AFT had previously adopted the policy of discouraging the establishment of segregated locals and of urging locals in areas where separate locals had already been established to function together and to work toward merging the locals.

The problem facing the 1948 convention was to decide whether the AFT should now adopt a policy of refusing to grant any more charters to separate racial groups. (See the report of the Committee on Democratic Human Relations, page 26.)

At the Saturday morning session Mr. W. J. Rodda, president of the National Union of Teachers of England, addressed the convention. Mr. Rodda is the first American-born person to hold that office.

Saturday was an unusually crowded day. In addition to the business sessions there was an intercultural relations luncheon and a picnic supper.

At the final session the convention selected the AFT delegates and alternates to the coming AFL convention. As delegates they chose President John Eklund, Secretary-Treasurer Irvin Kuenzli, Washington Representative Selma Borchardt, and Vice-Presidents Arthur Elder and John

Fewkes. Joseph F. Landis, former AFT president, and John Connors, director of the Workers Education Bureau, were named as alternates.

But although there were morning, afternoon, and evening sessions on Saturday—the evening session lasted until after midnight—and although the delegates met also on the following afternoon, it was impossible to consider the reports of all of the convention committees. Those not acted upon by the convention, therefore, were turned over to the Executive Council, which met during the evening after the convention had adjourned, and also on the next two days.

The new Executive Council is as follows:

*President:* John Eklund, Denver, Colo.

*Vice-Presidents:*

Carl Benson, Toledo, O.

Selma Borchardt, Washington, D.C.

Arthur Elder, Detroit, Mich.

John Fewkes, Chicago, Ill.

Irving Fullington, Birmingham, Ala.

Lettisha Henderson, St. Paul, Minn.

Veronica B. Hill, New Orleans, La.

E. Robert Leach, Fort Wayne, Ind.

Kathleen McGuire, Anaconda, Mont.

Edward Melucci, Pawtucket, R.I.

Mary Moulton, Kansas City, Mo.

Cecile Oliver, Portland, Ore.

Natalie Ousley, Gary, Ind.

Rebecca Simonson, New York, N.Y.

Mary Wheeler, West Suburbs, Ill.

A report of the action taken at the post-convention Council meeting will be included in the next issue of the *AMERICAN TEACHER*.



COMMITTEE  
ON  
ELECTIONS

No committee  
was more  
conscientious  
than this  
hard-working  
group.

# The AFT Today

(Continued from page 2)

yet, in the face of this crisis, Dr. Fine endorsed the solution advocated by the company union movement throughout the nation, namely, that the way to solve the problem of teacher shortage is to make the attaining of a teaching certificate still more difficult.

We have always advocated and believed in increased training, in qualification of teachers to the fullest degree; but I submit to you that when anyone suggests that we must have at least five years beyond the high school level in training when we can't even get the four-year people now, he is not meeting the issue realistically—I am speaking now as an individual.

I believe that the time has come when we should insist that the teachers of America first be adequately trained in the subject to be taught, and that they then receive professional technical training in how to teach and how to administer. It seems to me that however many courses I may take in the techniques of teaching, if I have nothing to teach, my classes will be sorely neglected and frustrated. I for one am sick of seeing English teachers who, because they lack competence in composition, neglect to teach composition; mathematics teachers who avoid all difficult problems.

The AFT might well give consideration to an insistence that teaching certification should require four years above the high-school level; that subject mastery should be a determinant—and a primary determinant; and if the emergency continues and it becomes increasingly difficult to staff our schools with properly trained teachers, that we take first those from the large number of college graduates now available who are qualified in subject matter; and then, perhaps through in-service training or the inspiration that comes from actual teaching—and the inspiration that might come from increased compensation—require further professional training. It is still true, to a large extent, that teachers are born, rather than made. I think you will agree that a person with mastery in a subject, even though he lacks technical training in the methods of teaching, can possibly, by observation and by experience, qualify later as an eminently successful teacher.

I should like now to read to you a little poem written by Louise Lincoln, of our Columbus, O., local:

## We View with Alarm

or

### Depression Ahead

For teachers who would like to know the score,  
Who wonder what the future has in store,  
There's no need to turn to mystics,  
It's a matter of statistics:  
The schools will have five million pupils more.

Five million more to rustle and wriggle;  
Five million more to whisper and giggle;  
Five million more to write on the walls;  
Three million more wearing caps in the halls;  
Five million more without any manners;  
One million books by dewy-eyed planners  
Who love little children so much that they preach  
On methods of teaching although they don't teach;  
Four million loafers to one million workers;  
Six million parents upholding the shirkers;  
Ten billion slingshots and spitballs and notes;  
Assortments of noises from three million throats;  
Five million permanent records to file;  
One hundred million reports to compile  
(And smile while you do 'em, Brethren, smile!).

For teachers who would like to know the score,  
Who wonder what the future has in store,  
It may be tolling bells,  
It may be padded cells;  
But the schools will have five million pupils more.

## Strong State Federations

I think our experience has now demonstrated that the great strength and power of this organization lies in strong, substantial, vigorous, active state federations. I should like to suggest to our state federations very earnest consideration of some means whereby they can advance the dues to the state organizations, in order to make them independent and powerful, not constantly dependent on the national organization; for when the national is able to use its full budget for the servicing of locals throughout the nation, we can engage in many expanded services that are greatly needed.

## Federal Aid

On the problem of federal aid to education we stand, as does the AFL, for adequate funds, not for a mere pittance. We need billions annually—not millions—to provide adequate educational opportunities for all American youth.

(For a later speech by Mr. Landis, see page 13.)



# The Union in Action In 1948

Excerpts from the Convention Address of  
**IRVIN R. KUENZLI**, Secretary-Treasurer



**I**T IS indeed especially fitting that our 1948 convention should be held in the state of Colorado. There is a note of triumph in the selection of Glenwood Springs as the place for the annual meeting in 1948. The progress which has been made in the state of Colorado during the last two years is outstanding in the history of the AFT. Just a little more than two years ago there were only two AFT locals in Colorado—Local No. 567 at Pueblo and the vocational teachers' local in Denver, No. 203.

I recall the auspicious day on May 3, 1946 when I flew from Chicago to Denver to present the charter to a group of more than 200 teachers assembled at an enthusiastic dinner meeting at the Cosmopolitan Hotel. Here was a thrilling answer to the groups which, having failed in their own programs of action, were conniving to destroy the AFT nucleus in Colorado. Since Local 858 in Denver was chartered, 23 locals have been organized in Colorado. The greater part of this organization work has been done by the dynamic leadership in the state of Colorado.

## Membership Growth

During the eleven-month period on which our comparison must be based this year, 26 new locals were chartered. Since the close of the eleven-month period on June 30, four additional charter applications have been received.

The growth of the AFT during the period of World War II and the postwar period has been phenomenal. The membership of the AFT today is approximately twice the membership at the beginning of the war.

In the past history of the AFT the greater part of the organization program has been carried out in the larger cities and towns. There are now AFT locals in 24 of the 25 largest cities and in approximately two-thirds of the cities of over 100,000. There are locals also in approximately half of the cities of over 25,000.

Increasingly, as the organization program progresses and the organization field becomes more

restricted, we shall have to place special emphasis on building up the membership of existing locals.

In the number of new locals organized in the last eleven months, Colorado leads with six. Kentucky is second with four; Montana and Michigan tie for third place with three new locals each; Louisiana and Minnesota tie for fourth place with two each. One new local was chartered in each of the following: Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Arizona, Indiana, Wisconsin, and Rhode Island. Two new locals (Hartford, Conn., No. 1018, and Lawrence, Mass., No. 1019) were chartered just after the close of the fiscal year.

## AFL Program of Education

One of the most important phases of the program of action of the AFT during the past year was the active participation in the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor at San Francisco in October 1947. At this great convention, representing more than seven million members of organized labor, a strong program of education was adopted.

This comprehensive program, including federal support for general school purposes, for school lunches, and for workers' education, is a wholesome contrast to the educational program of the National Association of Manufacturers, which pretends to be a friend of the schools but advocates better schools *within the limits of local communities to provide more funds for the schools*. Stripped of its verbal camouflage, this means: "Let the children in poor districts have poor schools and let the rich communities have good schools." In a democratic society it is a

strange philosophy which advocates that the educational opportunity of a child should depend on the economic status of the community in which he happens to be born and reared. It is the philosophy of the AFT and the AFL that every child in the United States should have the opportunity to ascend the educational ladder as far as his ability and interest impel him to climb—regardless of the economic status of his parents or his community. Such a philosophy can be implemented only through federal aid, which is opposed by both the National Association of Manufacturers and the United States Chamber of Commerce.

### **Teachers' Salaries in 1948**

The U. S. Department of Labor reports that wages of factory workers generally have increased more than 100% since 1939 so that these workers receive a little more than twice the salaries received just before the beginning of World War II. The statistics of the Department of Labor also indicate that the cost of living has increased nearly 70% since the beginning of World War II. On the basis of these facts, it is reasonable to conclude that the teachers who received \$2000 in 1939 would have to receive nearly \$3500 in 1948 before receiving any increase at all in purchasing power. The teacher who received \$3000 in 1939 would have to receive about \$5000 in 1948 before receiving any increase in purchasing power. Teachers who are willing to accept salary adjustments of \$300, \$400 or \$500 are merely permitting the inflation of dollar values to give them a false sense of salary increase when an actual decrease has resulted. This tendency of teachers to be satisfied with far less than "half a loaf" has afforded a very favorable opportunity for school boards and for some administrators to use the traditional trick of stopping the movement to organize by granting small increases in salary.

Teacher training institutions may perform a vital service to American education by inculcating in the future teachers of the United States a more courageous professional attitude and a stronger determination to organize for the protection of their economic and civil rights. A first step in this direction should be a more courageous attitude on the part of the professors in teacher training institutions in forming unions to protect their own professional status. The conditions under which many of the nation's college and university professors work is a disgrace

to the nation. My own personal experience in conferring with teachers throughout the nation indicates that there is no place in the whole scene of American education where so much fear exists and such a lack of academic freedom as among those who teach the future teachers of America.

### **Basing Salaries on Rating**

At both the 1946 and 1947 conventions of the AFT I called attention to the grave professional danger involved in current proposals, emanating from tax savers' organizations and from some schools of education, to base teachers' salaries on rating scales rather than on training and experience. I desire again to state with all the emphasis which words can command, that this proposal to base salaries on rating still constitutes one of the most serious—if not the most serious—threats to American education at the present time.

The history of the evolution of this current philosophy of basing teachers' salaries on rating is further evidence of the camouflaged campaign which is constantly waged by certain powerful industrial groups against adequate financial support of the public schools. For at least fifteen years a movement has been under way to reduce the costs of education by basing teachers' salaries on rating schemes. When the foundation program of state support was adopted in the state of Ohio in 1934, the Ohio Federation of Teachers waged a vigorous and successful battle against an amendment to the law providing that salaries must be based on rating. Repeatedly during the last decade we have been told by local, state, and national representatives of industrial organizations, that we shall have to accept rating scales as a basis of determining salary increments if increases in salaries are to be granted to teachers.

The AFT, with the full support of the AFL, is the only national classroom teachers' organization which is waging a vigorous and active battle against the falsely labeled merit system of paying higher salaries to those teachers who make higher marks on a rating scale.

### **Laws Prohibiting Strikes by Teachers**

During the past two years laws have been passed in a number of states prohibiting public employees from belonging to any union which has a strike policy. The AFT throughout its entire history has maintained a no-strike policy.

Before the present crisis in American education there had never been a strike by any AFT local. In a few instances, during the current crisis, local conditions have become so intolerable that boards of education have practically compelled local unions to go on strike, despite the policy of the national organization. The passage of "big stick" laws prohibiting teachers and other public employees from striking is a cowardly and totalitarian answer to the whole problem of unrest among public employees. When the great majority of a group of public employees favor a strike, there is something radically wrong and that something cannot be remedied by passing anti-strike legislation. In a democratic society the approach to the problem should be to remedy the cause of the unrest rather than to punish those who are dissatisfied.

### **Protecting the Freedom and Tenure of Teachers**

In previous reports I have quoted authorities who have stated that the AFT is the only organization in the United States which is carrying on a constant and vigorous battle for the defense of the academic freedom and tenure of the classroom teachers of the nation. In this field of professional activity, experience over the years has revealed two vital and indisputable facts: (1) that teachers' organizations which are controlled by administrators who "hire and fire" the teachers cannot function effectively in protecting the civil rights of teachers; and (2) that only a classroom teachers' organization with powerful backing of the labor movement can, as a rule, successfully protect teachers from unjust dismissal and from the fear which results from encroachment upon their academic freedom.

This statement does not mean that the AFT has won all of its tenure and academic freedom cases throughout its history. In fact, in the earlier history of the AFT, cases of unjust dismissal were fought vigorously, not so much in the hope of winning the cases as for the purpose of making unfair dismissal of teachers increasingly difficult. Throughout the entire history of American education very few tenure cases have been won outside the AFT and only in recent years has the AFT won the majority of its tenure cases either wholly or in part. The success of the AFT in protecting the academic freedom and tenure of teachers has caused non-union organizations to take a more vigorous stand in defense of classroom teachers and has compelled those

administrators who control teachers' organizations to adopt a more liberal policy in relation to tenure and academic freedom. If, during the last decade, the AFT had accomplished nothing else than its victories in the field of tenure and academic freedom, its existence would have been more than justified. All teachers in the United States are much more secure in their positions today because of the program of action of the AFT. Every AFT tenure victory is a victory for the entire teaching profession in the United States.

One of the most significant tenure cases won during the past year was the legal victory for the married women teachers in St. Louis. For several years the AFT local in St. Louis has carried on a vigorous campaign for the right of married women to teach and of women teachers to marry. A court battle which lasted for many months resulted in an emphatic decision by the Supreme Court of Missouri that teachers cannot be dismissed in Missouri because of their marital status. The National Executive Council voted a special allocation from the defense fund to Local 420 in St. Louis to assist in paying the legal expenses of this important tenure case. This court decision is doubtless the most important judicial pronouncement in favor of the rights of married women teachers and the right of women teachers to marry in the history of education in the United States.

Local 571, the West Suburban Teachers' Union (near Chicago), has been involved during the past year in a court case similar to the St. Louis case. The case was carried from the Appellate Court to the Supreme Court of Illinois. The Supreme Court remanded the case to the Appellate Court with directions that a different legal procedure be followed in presenting the case. The case, therefore, is still active and AFT Attorney John Ligtenberg favors taking it again to the State Supreme Court under the new legal procedure recommended by the higher court.

The highly involved legal procedure and the great expense involved in tenure cases of the type in St. Louis and Cicero, Illinois indicate the hopelessness of the individual teacher in protecting his own tenure rights and the absolute necessity of membership in a strong professional organization with a long record of achievement in the field of tenure. As in the case of labor law generally, tenure laws in themselves are of comparatively little value unless there are strong organi-



zations to protect the rights of the teacher guaranteed under such laws.

While this report was being written Miss Ann Maloney, Chairman of the National Committee on Academic Freedom and Tenure Violations, reported another outstanding victory in the field of teacher tenure. At Huron, South Dakota—a state in which there is no tenure law—several teachers were notified of dismissal in a highly political situation which had developed in the board of education of the city. Since these teachers had no legal protection whatever, there was no means of defending them except through the support of organized labor in Huron. In an emergency situation, Miss Maloney kindly consented to visit Huron to advise and assist the officers of Local 273. After finding negotiations and arbitration practically impossible, Miss Maloney advised labor leaders of the city to enter the approaching school board election actively in order to secure a majority of members who would support the teachers' union in reinstating the teachers who had been unjustly dismissed. The local labor movement followed this advice and was successful in electing two board members by a large majority. Since the majority of the school board members are now friendly to organized labor, the reinstatement of the dismissed teachers is assured. Thus, organized labor has won another impressive victory for American education which could have been won in no other way.

Here in the state of Colorado, where our 1948 convention is being held, one tenure case and one academic freedom case are being prosecuted. The tenure case is in a suburban district near Denver where a separate AFT local was organized. This district was annexed recently to the school district of the city of Denver. One of the teachers, who served as president of this suburban local, which became part of the Denver local, was dismissed. Both the Denver local and the National Committee on Academic Freedom and Tenure Violations have been active in this case to see that sound principles of tenure are not violated.

The academic freedom case in Denver is related to the able executive secretary of the Colorado State Federation of Teachers, Mr. Herrick Roth. Mr. Roth, who served as a captain in the U.S. Army during World War II and who was one of the most dynamic leaders in organizing the AFT in Colorado, was accused by a local paper, the *American Commentator*, of being a

Communist. Mr. Roth, with the support of the local, state and national organizations of the AFT, has entered a suit against the paper for damages. The important principle of academic freedom—in the larger sense—involved in this case is whether a teacher can become an active leader in his professional organization without being attacked as a Communist or otherwise attacked publicly for the purpose of destroying his professional standing. While the national constitution of the AFT prohibits membership to teachers who take their directives from the Nazi, Fascist, or Communist sources, the AFT also takes a strong stand in defense of those teachers who are falsely charged with Communism because they dare to take a liberal attitude in the struggle for social justice. In most cases of this kind, investigation of those who make the charges reveals that such attacks are based not upon a fervent love of country but upon a camouflaged attempt to escape the costs of providing adequate educational facilities for children.

#### AFT Commission on Educational Reconstruction

Dr. Floyd Reeves, Chairman of the AFT Commission on Educational Reconstruction, will report to this convention on the work of the Commission. However, I would be ungrateful if I did not refer in this report to the significant contribution Dr. Reeves has made to the AFT in serving as the Chairman of the Commission, for a period of five years, during some of the most difficult times in American education. As a keen scholar, a noted educator, a patriot in the highest sense and a national authority on many phases of education, Dr. Reeves has displayed outstanding generalship in directing the work of the Commission. He has worked for the AFT—especially during the past year—at great personal sacrifice and I desire to express to this convention our deep appreciation of his devotion to the cause of the AFT. We feel honored, indeed, that so great and so widely experienced an educator as Dr. Reeves, has chosen the AFT as the most effective organization for battling for better education for the children, youth, and adults of the United States.



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## John Eklund Directs Attention To AFT Responsibilities

At the first convention session after the election of AFT officers, the new president, John Eklund, of Denver, spoke briefly to the delegates.

**P**RESIDENT Landis, members of the American Federation of Teachers: I want you to know that this particular responsibility is one that has the habit of growing on you. Believe me, since last night when the vote was informally announced, I have felt an almost overwhelming increase in my sense of responsibility. I can begin to appreciate in just about ten hours (three of which were involved in sleep), Mr. Landis, what five years of service to the American teachers—and I mean the American teachers, not only the American Federation of Teachers—and the American children, have been.

There is little doubt that public education in this country and the profession of teaching face the greatest crisis in their history. This is the hour when the increasing weight of enrollment on already heavily taxed facilities is threatening to make mockery of all our fine dreams of teaching children. Inadequate educational plants staffed in many instances with emergency teachers, underpaid and overworked staffs, a minimum of instructional materials, dilapidated and hazardous buildings, long since condemned—these are factors pointing toward bankruptcy in American education. The hundreds of thousands of children participating in this marginal educational offering hold, in my opinion, a first lien on the energy and vision of the American Federation of Teachers.

Concurrent with grossly inadequate facilities is the undemocratic pattern of unequal opportunity for children. There must be brought to pass through state legislation and federal aid the reality and demonstration to the child at the country crossroad, in the industrial areas, and in the villages that a democratic nation holds for him all the opportunities that his neighbor gets.

We can never defend double or triple standards in school services. Each state federation, each local must work toward the broadening of the base of educational support until all differences are wiped out and the right by birth of every child for equal chance is accomplished.

Hand in hand with the responsibility to the child is our responsibility to the profession. The expansion of the American Federation of Teachers must bring the benefits of teacher unionism to the smaller towns and into the rural areas. Eventually there must be strong state federations of teachers giving all teachers the chance to participate in the cohesive, aggressive program that unionism of teachers makes possible. Then can come complete and adequate state legislative programs, tenure, academic freedom, living wage schedules, and welfare benefits. Only where teachers are strongly knit together with common purposes are these gains made.

I should like to say one further thing. I think it is the responsibility of every member of this organization—and I am so charging you—to watch, to supervise, to analyze every single step and action of the total organization. I am charging you with the responsibility of writing to Mr. Kuenzli, of writing to the Executive Council, or wiring, or communicating in any other way, to the Council and to myself when you feel at any point that the dictates of this body are not being followed. The administration of this organization is partly your responsibility. The job will be done just as well as you demand it be done, and within the total ability that I have to give to you and to the organization.

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# Joseph Landis Makes Plea For Extending AFT Membership

**Y**OU have honored me as you have honored few people in the history of this organization. I here express to you my humble and grateful thanks. You have given me such an opportunity to serve the children and the teachers of this nation as has been placed in the hands of few. I have richly enjoyed that experience and I assure you that I have given you my best.

I should like now to comment on a problem that has troubled me for a long time. There are many locals in the AFT that represent a very trifling percentage of the total possible membership in the area. We point with pride and are thrilled when a local of 50 members is created in a new city; but if that local of 50 members is in a city where there are 5,000 teachers, there is something wrong. We have a number of locals that have existed for many, many years with only one, two, or three per cent of the total possible membership. I should like to beseech the leadership of such locals to give earnest thought to the program and policies they advocate. Certainly, over a long period of years, if our program be sound and for the betterment of every child and every teacher in the area, we should be able to command a greater percentage than is found in many of our locals.

I am also greatly concerned by the attitude of the leadership of such locals in presenting what to me seems the most logically illogical argument I have ever heard. These people are very, very sincere and unquestionably think they are right—and they may be. They are not interested in having a large local. They say: "We want active, vigorous members and an active organization, and we are quite satisfied with a small group so long as they are active and work."

Today we spent an entire session discussing certain types of discrimination—none of which has ever excluded a single person from membership in the AFT, save of his own volition. Not one word was spoken concerning this smug, self-satisfied, seemingly pious exclusion which today is keeping thousands of teachers from fellowship in our fold. To me it seems treasonable for any small group, a trifling minority of the teaching staff of a community, to operate on the theory of nuisance value. Should not every effort

be made to expand membership to majority status and to serve the teachers through the strength of a large, financially able, vigorous local?

Did it ever occur to you that the greatest service we can render to the AFT and to the betterment of education in America is to build a larger organization so that we may challenge even more effectively the non-union organization, which has a membership that is largely compulsory? I urge all of our locals to endeavor to bring the trade union philosophy to every teacher in the system and to extend to all teachers the opportunity of affiliation with the trade union movement through membership in the AFT.

In our organization we need not only a group to assume leadership, but also the backing of all those who are willing to give up anti-union prejudice and join us in trade union thinking. Has it not occurred to you that their financial support would make possible in the AFT an expanding program of action that has thus far been impossible because of the limitations of our budget? They would thus be contributing to the betterment of education in the community, to expansion of the program of action of the AFT, and to the extension of the trade union movement in America.

I plead that every member of the AFT rise to the great challenge of our organization, so that we may loyally and unitedly forget our petty differences and pull together in the building of an organization which can make possible a richer and brighter future for every American youth. The majority has spoken. With their decision I am content. The challenge to education in this present hour demands our full energy and our united effort.

May I say in farewell that I have enlisted in the AFT not for just a day, not for just an hour, but, always.

May God bless you all! May God bless every member of this organization, and through that blessing may we be privileged to bless every child in America by giving him an opportunity to grow and expand intellectually. May we help to build in this nation a great people because of the great leadership that the American Federation of Teachers has been able to give.



# Report of the AFT Commission On Educational Reconstruction

By DR. FLOYD W. REEVES, Chairman

**F**OUR years ago, in August, 1944, the Executive Council of the AFT appointed the Commission on Educational Reconstruction and at the same time requested me to assume its chairmanship. There was almost universal agreement among thoughtful educators at that time on at least two points: (1) that many of the post-war problems that would arise in the field of education would be difficult to solve; and (2) that a beginning in the development of plans for their solution should be made without delay. In this setting your Commission, in the early autumn of 1944, began its work.

I feel some pride in the accomplishments of the Commission during the past four years, not because of any contribution that I as an individual was able to make, but because the work of the Commission has had an important part in laying the groundwork for the improvement of American education. Education may well face its greatest test in the years that lie immediately ahead. The AFT must continue to provide leadership, and it must be equipped to do so effectively. A part of the needed equipment is a commission on long-range planning. For that reason I am convinced that the Commission on Educational Reconstruction should be continued, with a broadened membership and a new chairman.

At a meeting in the early autumn of 1944, the Commission determined to concentrate its efforts at the beginning of its work upon two major problems: (1) the means whereby our nation could remain strong in the world of disorder that would certainly follow the termination of the war; and (2) the means whereby increased financial support could be secured for education, in order to increase its scope, to improve its quality, and to make it accessible equally to rich and poor, to residents of the North, South, East, and West, and to all children, youth, and adults, without regard to race, creed, color, or national origin. At a later Commission meeting it was decided to add a third problem to the two then under discussion—the development of a statement of goals for American education.

## Education and National Strength

In the early days of our work, a proposal for a peacetime program of compulsory universal military training was before the Congress of the United States. We gave careful consideration to all aspects of this problem and finally reached the conclusion that the passage of an act providing for universal compulsory military service in time of peace might be a serious mistake. In any case, it did not seem to us advisable for such legislation to be enacted at the very time when plans were under way to organize the United Nations. We recommended, therefore, that no action be taken at that time. A copy of our recommendation was sent to Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States; other copies were released to the press and received wide publicity. In the months that elapsed between the time that the Commission made its recommendation, and the termination of the war, it became clear that the decision we had reached was a wise one. Later, the Congress reached the same decision.

Throughout the year 1947 and during the early months of 1948, strong pressures were brought to bear upon the President and the Congress of the United States to enact legislation providing for a program of universal compulsory military training. The President finally recommended the enactment of such a program, and the Congress set the machinery in motion to give active consideration to the President's recommendation. In view of this situation, a meeting of the Commission was called for January 25, 1948, to reconsider the problem of universal compulsory military training and related problems in the light of the then current situation. After extended discussion, the members of the Commission found that they were in essential agreement both as to the need of this nation for military strength, and as to the kinds of action that needed to be taken to make the nation strong. A committee consisting of Dr. John L. Childs, chairman, Dr. George S. Counts, and the speaker was appointed to draft a statement for the Commission based upon the deci-

## THE SCHOOL SECRETARIES' TEA

Mrs. Irvin R. Kuenzli (left) and Dr. Floyd W. Reeves (right) enjoy a glass of the fruit punch served to the convention delegates by Lucille G. Olson and Bernice Pieroth (president), of the School Secretaries Union, AFT Local 224, Chicago.



sions that we had reached. This statement, after receiving the unanimous approval of the members of the Commission, was published under the title, "To Provide for the Common Defense," and was distributed widely over the nation.

The Commission warned against the danger of accepting a false road to secure peace. One such road would be appeasement, which the Commission stated is always a confession of weakness. A second false road would be acceptance of the doctrine of isolation, a doctrine then being strongly advocated by certain widely read newspapers and advocated to a lesser degree in the halls of Congress itself. A third road that the Commission held to be false involves the use of the "big stick"—exclusive reliance on "toughness" and military power—in the absence of an informed policy for the achievement of world peace. Such a policy (that is, a policy of military power only) would, the Commission believed, serve to confirm the Soviet thesis that this nation is motivated strictly by imperialist ambitions. Furthermore, it would expose this country to both the political dangers and the economic burdens of excessive militarism. Your Commission held that any one of these suggested roads—a policy of appeasement, a policy of isolationism, or a policy of military power based on imperialist ambitions—would be fatal to the welfare of the nation and to that of the world.

The alternative, the Commission held, is a sound foreign policy including wholehearted support of the United Nations, full implementation of the European Recovery Program, and repudiation of imperialism on our part, together with a sound domestic policy including an improved and greatly extended program of health and recreation for both youth and adults, and a military establishment adequate to protect this nation from foreign aggression.

At the time the Commission prepared its statement, selective service as a part of military security was not even under discussion, and there was then no indication from any important quarter that it would even be considered, much less adopted, during the months immediately ahead. The Commission, nevertheless, gave some consideration to the advisability of recommending the adoption of a program of selective service as an alternative to a program of universal compulsory military training. The Committee of the Commission was unanimous in the opinion that if it should prove to be impossible to secure an adequate military force through voluntary enlistments, then selective service offered more promise as a means of securing needed military manpower than universal compulsory military training. We decided, however, that because selective service was not then considered by the Congress, we would make no mention of it in the report that we were to draft.

In dealing with this problem in our report we quoted Hanson Baldwin, an authority on military matters, to the effect that "victory in modern war is no longer won by the big battalions but by the big factories." "The best and only defense against atomic bombs, long-range globe-girdling planes, intercontinental missiles, and induced plague," said Baldwin, "would appear to be a strong offense—the threat of worse blows against the enemy homeland than any the enemy can deliver against us."

At this point I wish to quote an extract from the Commission's statement:

This being the case, the emphasis would seem to be not on mass armies, but on intelligence work, scientific research, technical proficiency in the development and manufacture of weapons, a highly mobile striking force of annihilating potentiality, the maintenance of strategic bases, an economy capable of outstripping all possible aggressors in the swift pro-



THE CONVENTION DINNER



COMMITTEE ON TAXATION

duction of the materials of war, and the vigor, intelligence, and morale of all the people. While it is undoubtedly true that organized relief of disaster work on an unprecedented scale might be called for in the event of an atomic war, training for such service can be given locally in the schools and armories and through the National Guard.

Holding this view, the Commission believes that a voluntary service could be greatly strengthened, numerically and in quality, by reforms in the military system calculated to attract and retain men of the highest caliber. The Commission has in mind specifically a more rewarding scale of compensation, a flexible system of promotion, a very real and zealous regard for the welfare of the men who make a career of the service, elimination of the "caste system," and imaginative and unprecedented provision for technical training. Such a program, the Commission has reason to believe, would insure a service large enough to provide the essential and necessarily highly specialized striking force and the manpower to maintain strategic

bases.

The Commission closed its statement, "To Provide for the Common Defense," as follows:

The safety of our country—and of democracy throughout the world—demands a sweeping and comprehensive defense, on many fronts. It calls for a firm, consistent, and principled foreign policy; for a domestic program that will assure us of economic stability and remove the discriminatory practices that divide and weaken us as a people; for a highly trained and mobile fighting force designed for modern warfare; and, above all, for an educational system that will give all our children an abiding belief in democracy and the willingness and ability to defend it—physically, morally, and intellectually. In the final test we can only defend what we understand and deeply cherish.

The statement of the Commission that the Committee prepared was published and widely



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distributed just a few days before the Administration requested the Congress to pass both a selective service act and an act providing for universal compulsory military service. The statement could not have been better timed.

### The Financial Support of Education

During the discussion that took place at the first meeting of the Commission, in 1944, all members agreed that without aid from the Federal Government it would be impossible for many states to provide adequate educational opportunity to their children and youth. For many years both the AFT and the AFL had taken major positions of leadership in securing legislation for the support of vocational education by the Federal Government, as well as for the sup-

port of both general and vocational education by both state and local governments. The time had arrived when federal aid to general education had become imperative.

Last year, and also the year before last, I reported for the Commission in considerable detail the activities of the Commission in connection with federal aid to education. Except for one or two minor points, the recommendations of the Commission were adopted by the convention, and now stand as the program of the Federation. This program, I am confident, will stand the test of time, and will ultimately become legislation.

When the Commission began its work in 1944, the major bill that was then being considered by the Congress violated many of the most impor-



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tant requirements of a sound legislative program. The bill recently passed by the Senate, on the contrary, includes many excellent provisions that were absent from earlier bills. Most of these newer provisions are in accord with the recommendations that the AFT convention adopted last year. I am confident that when the Congress finally does enact legislation on federal aid to education, such legislation will be based in large part upon AFT proposals.

### **"Goals for American Education"**

As I reported last year, the Executive Council, in December 1945, requested the Commission to assume responsibility for the preparation of a volume for publication setting forth the *Goals for American Education*. The Commission assigned the task of preparing this volume to its research assistant, Dr. Lester Kirkendall, its secretary, Irvin Kuenzli, and its chairman. No limitations were placed upon the authors as to the scope of the problems to be discussed, the methods to be employed in securing needed information, or the suggestions and recommendations to be set forth as means of improving education. The authors alone were to be responsible for the contents of the report. The book, *Goals for American Education*, was planned, however, by the Commission as a whole. Moreover, during the course of its development, the manuscript was reviewed twice by the entire Commission, and it was twice redrafted to incorporate the suggestions received from the Commission members.

During the past year, *Goals for American Education*, a book of 130 pages, was published by the AFT in an edition of 2,500 copies. It met with an immediate favorable response from teachers, from other educators, and from the press.

### **Future Work of the Commission**

The most recent meeting of the Commission on Educational Reconstruction was held on April 3, 1948. After a thorough discussion of the critical issues now facing American education, and of the probable extent to which the Commission, if continued, could render a worth-while service, the following decisions were reached by a unanimous vote of the Commission:

1. That the Executive Council be asked to continue the AFT Commission on Educational Reconstruction for a period of three years.

2. That the Executive Council be informed that the Commission is unanimous in its desire to have the Council select Mr. Arthur Elder, one of

its present members, to serve as its chairman.

3. That the Commission recommend to the convention that the work of the Commission be continued on an annual budget of \$10,000.

Every member of the Commission present at the April meeting felt strongly that the work of the Commission should be continued. Upon the request of the chairman, every member, including the chairman, expressed a willingness, if requested, to continue service on the Commission. All members agreed that the Commission membership should be broadened to include at least four members in addition to the present membership of eight persons.

I shall close this report with a few personal comments. I have served as a member—and on several occasions as chairman—of a number of national commissions, both governmental and non-governmental, during the past quarter of a century. These have included, among others, the President's Advisory Committee on Education, the American Youth Commission, and the Inter-Departmental Conference on Post-War Readjustment of Civilian and Military Personnel appointed at the request of President Roosevelt to draw up the basic plan for the demobilization and readjustment of both civilian and military personnel. On no Commission have I enjoyed my work more than, or as much as, on the AFT Commission on Educational Reconstruction. Every member of this Commission has had a unique contribution to make to our work and every member has contributed wholeheartedly and, often, at great inconvenience to himself or herself. Selma Borchardt, John Childs, George Counts, Arthur Elder, Irvin Kuenzli, Joe Landis, Florence Thorne, and Bob Weaver have all given freely of their time and of their energy to make the work of the Commission a success. On behalf of the Commission, I wish to express our appreciation to Mrs. Florence Greve, who during the past year rendered us able and valuable service as our secretary, and to Dr. Lester Kirkendall for his assistance as co-author of *Goals for American Education*. Finally, may I say that nothing connected with our work has given me a greater degree of satisfaction than the appreciation that the Executive Council and the convention of the AFT have expressed for the efforts that we have expended. I deem it a high honor to have been privileged to serve you, the American Federation of Teachers, as chairman of your Commission on Educational Reconstruction.



# The National Scene

Excerpts from the Convention Address of  
SELMA BORCHARDT, Washington Representative

**T**HERE is nothing happening in official Washington today which does not affect every teacher in the United States. And hence a knowledge of what is happening, a part in what is happening, is the business of all of us.

## FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION

It has been the duty of your representative in Washington to report facts on the progress of federal aid legislation—not to give inspirational messages. Hence it was necessary to report, "There has been no change in regard to legislation for federal aid for education." Many members were disconcerted with this report and sought a reason for not being told that federal aid was on the way.

Here are the facts: There was no chance for the Taft Bill from the time it was introduced.

The bill as it passed the Senate contained seven of the recommendations *initiated by the American Federation of Teachers*, but for many years fought by other groups. It is interesting to record, as a matter of historic interest, that many of the principles which the AFT urged in 1943, in opposition to the NEA stand, are now in the bill. The AFT led the fight for the following principles:

1. That federal aid should supplement and not supplant state and local funds.
2. That funds allocated for education by the states and their political subdivisions before the enactment of federal aid should be maintained.
3. That at least the average monthly salary paid teachers from state and local funds before the enactment of the federal aid bill should continue to be paid by state and local governments after federal aid is available.
4. That for every child in a state, a minimum of state and local funds be required to be contributed as a flat basic fund, as a prerequisite to the state's receiving federal funds.

5. That the federal funds should be made available for every part of any state in need thereof.

6. That the plan of allocation of federal funds assure greater allowances for the poorer states; that the bill be an effort toward equalizing educational opportunities. (While we urged a bill for federal aid to help toward equalizing educational opportunities among the several states, we also frankly stated that we recognized the need for federal *support* of education, in addition to aid for the poorer states.)

7. In addition, for many years, from 1926 on, the AFT representative was attacked for urging that a clearly worded mandate be written into the law, assuring members of minority races an absolute per capita share of the federal funds allocated.

*Every one of these principles was written into the bill, as it passed the Senate.*

However, the following principles for which we stand were not included in the bill as it passed the Senate:

1. That not less than 75% of the funds appropriated should be used to pay *teachers' salaries*.
2. That the state be required to report how the federal funds *will* be spent *before* they are spent, and, later on, how they were actually spent.
3. That federal funds should be allocated for *services* for all children in any state.
4. That federal funds should not be used to pay salaries for teachers in non-public schools.
5. That student aid be provided for youth in high schools and colleges to help the young student remain in school.
6. That a continuous effort be made for actual equalization.

However, we may well be proud and happy that so much of what we urged has been adopted. We must continue to fight for all the principles for which we stand.

Our question now is: How can we actually get federal aid for education, and what is the least that should be included in a federal aid program? After consulting leaders in the AFL and leaders in Congress I submit for your consideration the following proposal:

The United States needs a comprehensive educational program—a program which recognizes the vast material, social, and moral needs of our nation and the various and varying needs of



every person living in our country. A program expressing our country's best traditions, a program worthy of our people's faith in the democratic process, a program designed to meet our basic educational needs requires a minimum of \$2,500,000,000 annually from the federal government.

The AFT in cooperation with the AFL should have a bill prepared and introduced as early in the session as possible, the bill to contain four titles providing:

1. Federal aid for salaries of public school teachers (the term "teacher" to be defined in the bill); to be administered by the public educational authorities of the state.
2. Federal aid for services for all children 5 to 17 years of age; to be administered by such public agency as would be permitted under state law to administer such a program for all children.
3. Federal aid for scholarships to enable needy children and youth to remain in school; the payments to be made directly to the needy children and youth by a properly designated public agency.
4. Federal aid to wipe out illiteracy in this country.

Point No. 4 deserves special attention. Practically all federal aid bills which have been pushed have had said of them that they will help eradicate illiteracy. In the very long run that may be true. But actually, as of today, unless a special sum is set aside for a special program, there will be no specialized attack on illiteracy. And, of course, there should be.

The 1940 census reported 10,000,000 persons over 25 years of age who are functionally illiterate. One-third of these are Negroes. There is a tragic loss both to the nation and to each individual human being implicit in the figure, "10,000,000 illiterates." Economic loss, moral and spiritual loss! A disgrace to our people—and, even more, a danger to our nation!

I beg of you to make this a major fight for the AFT. We must fight to get at least \$10,000,000 specifically earmarked to attack this problem of adult illiteracy.

The national scope of the problem may be seen in the fact that while at present a proportionately high number of illiterates is in the poorer Southern states, there has been going on and is still going on a vast migratory movement of the Negro away from the South. For example, 36,000 of the Negroes now in Michigan were born in Georgia; 58,000 of the Negroes now in New York were born in Virginia. It is, therefore, a national problem morally and economically. And it is, I feel, especially our problem.

There was before the last Congress a bill, S. 2081, introduced by three progressive senators, Kilgore, Morse, and Magnuson, which would give aid to a campaign to help wipe out adult illiteracy. The principles in that bill merit our whole-hearted active support. We should, I believe, support such a program both as a specific part of a general federal aid bill and as a distinct program of its own.

But to return briefly to the general federal aid program. It will be recalled that the AFT has said since 1943 that *not less* than \$1,000,000,000 is needed for teachers' salaries alone, to help pay teachers a somewhat more nearly adequate salary. We stated then that \$300,000,000 was not nearly enough; that actually the states and their subdivisions would have to increase their outlay for educational purposes by at least \$1,000,000,000; that the federal government would have to provide at least \$2,500,000,000, to be equitably distributed, if the needs were to be met.

Average salaries for teachers have increased 47.57% in dollars. The average salaries of teachers, supervisors, and principals have been:

1943-44	\$1728
1944-45	\$1846
1945-46	\$1995
1946-47	\$2250 (estimated)
1947-48	\$2550 (estimated)

It is interesting to note that while there has been this dollar increase in salaries, there has also been the well known rise in living costs. The Bureau of Labor Statistics reports the following index:

Jan. 1935-39	100.
Jan. 1943-44	124.2
Jan. 1944-45	127.1
Jan. 1945-46	129.9
Jan. 1946-47	153.3
Jan. 1947-48	168.8
May 1948	170.5

Hence, we see the double need for *federal aid for teachers' salaries*; not only because the salary in dollars of any year is woefully inadequate, but also because the dollar itself is worth so little.

However, while we must press these figures ever more strongly before legislative bodies and citizens everywhere, we must not leave the impression that by paying teachers a living wage or even a little more—a just wage, let us say—that the crisis in education will be solved. An increased wage scale may reduce the number of not properly qualified teachers, it may assure an

increase in the number of teachers entering the profession, it may lower the rate of teacher turnover. But it will not of itself improve teacher morale and the quality of teaching.

To improve teaching today, school administration must be democratized and the dignity and worth of the classroom teacher must be recognized in daily practice, not in sentimental platitudes often uttered at teachers' institutes—which teachers must attend but which they may not help plan. Rating systems tied to salary schedules, inadequate or no tenure, lay interference with school curricula, teaching methods and textbook content are far more serious threats to good teaching than are even the low wages paid teachers in many places. These facts should be stressed in every salary fight at local, state, or national level.

### THE U.S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION

The U.S. Office of Education is the agency of the federal government charged at law to "collect such statistics and facts as shall show the condition and progress of education in the several states and territories." Yet the Office of Education has persistently failed to gather basic statistics and facts. This governmental agency has, in fact, refused to gather and keep current statistical data on teachers' salaries, pensions, tenure, class size, teacher contracts, and any other data directly affecting the relation of the teacher to his school system.

In the first place the failure and refusal to do this has been in direct violation of the law. In the second place it has been an abuse of government service—an agency of the federal government taking the position that citizens of the United States must obtain their information from a biased private organization and not expect the government agency created and financed to do this work to act in keeping with the law.

We must insist that the U.S. Office of Education shall use its basic appropriation to perform the work it has been charged to perform and that federal funds appropriated for this purpose should not be used for other purposes.

In certain of its divisions the U.S. Office of Education has rendered excellent service. Let us mention two of these.

The Division on Negro Education is staffed with professional personnel of the highest type and is rendering remarkably fine service, not only in the field of Negro education, but in the

whole field of adult education and experimental education. This division needs and should have more money.

The Division of International Educational Relations, on a closely limited budget, has rendered great service. The whole program of teacher exchange was undertaken and ably carried through, practically on voluntary overtime service of the staff; Saturdays, Sundays, and hours after 6 P.M. were given by this staff to carry on this program because it was needed and money had not been appropriated for the work.

The selection of teachers for exchanges is now carried on on a grass roots basis, with teachers and other citizens in the local communities making the selections. On every committee making such selections the AFT is represented.

For years both the AFL and the AFT have urged that the work in international relations in any field be performed by the national agency working in that field, and then be *accredited* internationally through the Department of State. In conformity with that policy we should again urge that the U.S. Office of Education be authorized to conduct the educational international program of the United States, such program to be properly channeled and accredited abroad through the Department of State.

For all its work, the U.S. Office of Education needs vastly larger sums than have been allotted to it, and we should do all we can to convince Congress of the need thereof.

### SOCIAL SECURITY AND TEACHERS' PENSION SYSTEMS

This Congress has not only failed to expand social security coverage; it has even further restricted its benefits. Furthermore, a great crisis has arisen because of the widening gap between the present high cost of living and the amount of monthly payments available under the present social security law. The disparity is especially marked in the old-age and survivors' insurance system, and in the public assistance program.

As a result, thousands of dependent American children are undernourished to an extent bordering on starvation. Many lack the shoes and clothing needed to enable them to attend school. The plight of many poor aged people who are no longer able to make ends meet is pitiful in the extreme. The outlook is becoming more and more grim for the underprivileged.

Many of the most essential proposals were embodied in legislation before the Congress. Enactment of this legislation would have relieved the worst of the current pressures. Congress must liberalize benefit payments, relax the restrictions on part-time employment of beneficiaries of old-age and survivors' insurance, change the public assistance program to provide variable Federal grants to the States, and liberalize the maximum payments to which the Federal Government will contribute.

Action is required *now*—if millions of persons are not to suffer more.

To set aside the social security law as it has been administered for years, to over-ride the Supreme Court's decision to cover, under Social Security, some 70,000 persons acting as "agents" on a low wage level, this Congress passed a law expressly denying benefits to thousands of workers. The President vetoed the bill, but his veto was overridden.

Worst of all, from our point of view, was the bill which sought to blanket in municipal and state employees without guaranteeing us protection for our existing pension plans. The strongest protest on this proposal came from Hon. Oscar Ewing, Federal Security administrator, who said:

The provision in the bill for the coverage of State and local employees has a weakness in addition to the points I have just noted. The bill prohibits the coverage of employees under a retirement system even though the State or the local units of the Government might wish to have them covered. Several States have expressed a desire to have their retirement systems supplement the basic old-age and survivors' insurance benefits. In this way they would be able to provide their employees with larger total retirement benefits and broader survivorship protection than they can give them under a State plan alone. The insurance plans adopted by some 8000 private employers have been written with a similar goal in mind. If State employees were covered under both the State plan and old-age and survivors' insurance they would have the added advantage of continuing protection under old-age and survivors' insurance if they shifted to private employment. If States were given the option of either including or excluding members of retirement systems, those that wished to preserve their plans as now constituted could do so, and States that wish to tailor existing plans to the basic old-age and survivors' insurance benefits would have no barriers placed in their way. H.R. 6777 as passed by the House would force States in the latter group to dissolve their existing systems and draw up entirely new plans.

The AFL and its constituent unions affected by this proposal killed it in the Senate. The company union in education was not seen in the

Capitol during that all-night vigil when labor's representatives remained on the job until they were sure that the bill seeking to kill existing teacher retirement laws had itself been killed!

### LABOR EXTENSION SERVICE

The need for a Labor Extension Service conducted as a federal-state project is vitally essential. Labor wants such a program; the nation needs it. We should continue to press for a Labor Extension Service Program in the Department of Labor similar to the Agriculture Extension Program in the Department of Agriculture.

### THE MUNDT-NIXON BILL

The Canadian Spy Reports aroused in many persons in our country a sense of insecurity. There was widespread apprehension that if the Communists could do what they did in Canada, there was nothing to stop them in the United States. Our Congress felt itself called upon to stop the Communists' activities. But many of us who realized this also were determined to preserve our democratic way of life, our constitutional guarantees of personal liberty.

We cannot in keeping with our ideals and under our law subvert the personal liberties of any one—not even of the Communists who seek to destroy the very Constitution which protects them. Hence, we cannot use police-state methods to ferret out the Communists; we cannot deny them full opportunity to express their views and defend themselves in speech.

Even though we do completely repudiate their beliefs and their philosophy, we would not fight them for what they *believe*. Indeed under our moral and under our legal code, we cannot fight any man for what he *believes*.

We do—we must—however, fight against the *acts* of any man who, in advancing his beliefs, would use methods which would destroy our means of holding and practicing our beliefs.

The problem before us, therefore, is, in the first instance, not how to fight any man's beliefs and convictions, but how to prevent a well organized group from using *methods* to further beliefs when both their methods and their beliefs are aimed at destroying ours.

The Mundt-Nixon Bill provides *methods* which are not in harmony with our Constitution nor with the political morality of a free democratic people. Hence, we would concur in the opposition of the AFL to this bill, even though



technical legalistic justification for the bill may be cited, and even though its avowed purpose may be good.

### THE TAFT-HARTLEY LAW

If you want to know the truth about the effect of the Taft-Hartley Law read the Minority Report of the Joint Committee on Labor Management Relations.

This report points out that: 1) The law has not resulted in reduction of strikes; 2) The majority's conclusion that the Act has not adversely affected wages is actually inaccurate; 3) Restriction on union security agreements has already revealed serious defects ("bootleg" contracts, for example); 4) Wasteful unnecessary union shop agreements have needlessly consumed the time of N.L.R.B.; 5) There is an increasing back log of Board Cases; 6) The limitation on what they choose to call a secondary boycott has prevented the legitimate functioning of unions; 7) The socially "improper" use of injunctions is a dangerous threat to the freedom of all citizens; 8) The menacing interpretation of the word "coercion" is but another way in which to destroy the union itself; 9) The Majority Report in effect usurps the role of the courts in interpreting the law and further intrudes on existing bargaining relations in many plants; 10) Trade unions are being harassed by litigation.

The Courts have already thrown out the at-

tempt of the 80th Congress to wipe out our right to print the truth about our enemies.

Let us now wipe out the rest of the law by electing a Congress which will repeal it.

\* \* \* \*

*Other recommendations made by Miss Borchardt in her report were:*

1. *The School Lunch Program.* The operation of this program should be studied by an AFT committee, with a view to pointing out wherein it well serves a public need and where and how it could be improved.

2. *The Mundt-Smith Bill.* Funds should be made available for this program of international cultural exchange. Safeguards of administration should be set forth, however, and labor should be represented on the policies board for the program. The AFT should take an active interest in participating in the program.

3. *The Fulbright Act.* AFT locals should ask the Department of State for a full account of exactly how teachers may participate in this program of using, for educational purposes, funds due the United States from her allies for war supplies.

4. *The National Science Foundation.* Provision should be made for research in the social sciences as well as in the physical and biological sciences. We should join with labor in making sure that a man like George Counts or Floyd Reeves is on the administrative board and that the policies enunciated by the board do actually protect the public interest.

\* \* \* \* \*

*Many of Miss Borchardt's recommendations were embodied in various resolutions adopted by the convention (see pages following).*

## EDUCATIONAL TRENDS AND POLICIES

### Junior Colleges

WHEREAS, The Report of the President's Commission on Higher Education has revealed the need of extending educational opportunities for both youth and adults; and

WHEREAS, The junior or community college that offers two years of training beyond high school serves effectively the educational needs of local communities by providing general education for those who want only two years of college experience, adequate preparation for those who desire to continue their education in a four-year college or university, and classes for adults; therefore be it

*Resolved,* That the AFT urge all affiliated locals to further the establishment of junior or community colleges in their areas; and be it further

*Resolved,* That the AFT secure support of labor and civic groups for state and federal legislation to provide financial aid to provide for the urgent need of education beyond high school.

### Active AFT Support of Educational Experiment

WHEREAS, The AFT recognizes the fact that the educational opportunities of the individual are dependent not only upon the school situation but also upon surrounding social conditions, therefore be it

*Resolved,* That the Executive Committee of the AFT and the AMERICAN TEACHER devote concerted effort next year to reporting and stimulating those educational experiments at all age levels which attempt:

1. To attain community and regional participation with students, teachers, and educational institutions in studying and solving social problems in both their local and their broader aspects.

2. To make practical the critical inquiry, research, and planning of students and scholars by gearing it to these community and regional studies.

3. To encourage community and regional artistic efforts, not as escapist activities, but rather as contributions to the common enterprise.

### Personnel Practices In the Teaching Profession

WHEREAS, The grave shortage of well-qualified teachers results not only from inadequate salaries, but also from authoritarian and unenlightened personnel policies; and

WHEREAS, The AFT believes democracy in personnel practices must be attained before the schools can give the most effective education for democracy; therefore be it

*Resolved*, That the Research Department of the AFT study the pattern of personnel practices in the teaching profession, including methods of selection and promotion, working conditions, character of supervision, and participation in policy making; and be it further

*Resolved*, That these studies shall be used as a basis for the recommendation of a just and humane personnel policy designed to attract to and retain in the teaching profession an adequate number of qualified and enthusiastic teachers.

### Vocational Education

The following sections of a resolution adopted by the 1947 convention were reiterated and re-emphasized by the 1948 convention:

"That vocational and technical teachers who have satisfied the technical and educational qualifications for certification be considered as having qualifications equivalent to a bachelor's degree in determining salaries.

"That trade experience over and above the requirements for certification shall be recognized and applied in the same manner as teaching experience for determining salaries."

Several items recommended by George Hammersmith, chairman of the standing committee on vocational education in 1947-48, and approved by members of that committee, were adopted by the convention:

1. Equalization of hours in vocational schools. Extra pay for extra time taught.

2. Retention of a six-clock-hour day.

3. Credit toward apprenticeship for years spent in vocational schools to be worked out with the AFL and boards of education.

4. Establishment, by the AFL, through its central labor bodies, of an apprenticeship training board, composed of representatives from the board of education, the employer, and the AFL, to develop apprentice-training programs.

### Rating of Teachers

*The following resolution was based on one adopted by the 1947 AFL convention:*

WHEREAS, Certain industrial organizations are promoting a cleverly camouflaged campaign to reduce the costs of education by basing salary increases of teachers upon scores made on rating scales and thus limiting the increases to a few selected teachers; and

WHEREAS, In the states of New York and Delaware, laws have already been enacted requiring that teachers' salaries be based wholly or in part on rating scales, and similar laws have been introduced in a number of other states; and

WHEREAS, Such schemes of basing salary increments on rating are labeled "merit systems," but in operation are the very opposite of a true merit system; and

WHEREAS, The principle of basing salaries on rating scales would tend to provide promotions and salary increases for those teachers who are politically able rather than for those who are most competent professionally, and would thus tend to crush the freedom of the teachers and to promote political bootlicking; and

WHEREAS, Now, as never before, the teachers of the United States should demonstrate to the world a democratic school system in which

teachers are free and unafraid; and

WHEREAS, The permanent committee on education of the American Federation of Labor has condemned the plan to base teachers' salaries on rating; and

WHEREAS, Dr. John Studebaker, former U. S. Commissioner of Education, has stated that no system of measurement has ever been devised which will indicate how many dollars one teacher is better than another; therefore be it

*Resolved*, That the AFT emphatically condemn the plan of basing teachers' salaries on rating schemes and urge that salary schedules for teachers be based on training and experience—the only reliable objective criteria for determining salary schedules; and be it further

*Resolved*, That all AFT locals be urged to oppose further extension of the plans to base salaries on rating scales and to seek to eliminate such plans wherever they have been adopted.

### AFT Questionnaire to Congressional Candidates

WHEREAS, Federal aid is one of the major problems in public education, and

WHEREAS, The record and a definite statement of position would reveal the attitudes of Congressional candidates, therefore be it

*Resolved*, That the AFT recommend that locals submit questionnaires on federal aid and teacher welfare to candidates to Congress; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the Executive Council draft a questionnaire which may be used by the locals for this purpose; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the responses to the above questionnaire be published locally.



COMMITTEE ON EDUCATIONAL TRENDS AND POLICIES

### AFT Questionnaire to Presidential Candidates

The convention instructed the Executive Council to prepare and submit to each candidate for the Presidency of the United States a questionnaire concerning his position on the granting of federal aid to education and on teacher welfare, and a statement of his program for public education in the United States. Although the convention directed that the responses should be published in the October issue of the *AMERICAN TEACHER*, it was impossible to obtain the responses in time for their inclusion in this issue. It is planned, therefore,

to publish them in the November issue, and to have this issue appear early enough in October to enable AFT members to study the replies before the November election.

### An Internship Plan Of Teacher Training

WHEREAS, Inadequate and improper training of teachers is being cited as a serious shortcoming in American education; and

WHEREAS, This shortcoming results, in part, from the brevity and impractical nature of the practice teaching periods of existing training programs; and

WHEREAS, The Internship Plan

of Teacher Training presented by the Washington State Federation of Teachers, in line with usages in other professions and calling for a minimum of change in present training college programs, offers a practical solution to teacher training problems through the lengthening of practice teaching periods under systematic supervision and actual conditions; therefore be it

*Resolved*, That the Intern Plan of Teacher Training presented by the Washington State Federation of Teachers be submitted to the AFT Commission on Educational Reconstruction for consideration and report to the Executive Council during 1948-49.

## SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC TRENDS

**A**S RECOMMENDED by the Committee on Social and Economic Trends, the convention concurred with the following section of the Executive Council's report:

### The Teacher's Role In Organized Labor

To the end that children may develop fully into wholesome family and group life, there must be available certain minimum requirements in food, clothing, shelter, and other material and cultural necessities. Organized labor's ceaseless efforts in behalf of wages, hours, conditions of work, social security, and child labor legislation, by making available greater material and cultural opportunities to all, has made the work of the teacher more effective than it might otherwise have been. Labor's long struggle for the establishment of public schools also speaks eloquently for its concern for the full development of the individual in a democratic society.

The identity of interests of organized labor and the teaching profession has led to affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. Professional perspective and usefulness has thereby been increased and opportunities for services extended.

That the AFT locals and members may attain their full stature and maturity in the American labor movement, it is strongly urged that:

1. We function within the framework, rules, and policies of the appropriate AFL agencies.

2. We affiliate with and support morally and financially Labor's League for Political Education, to the end that labor's economic strength will be matched by equally effective political power.

3. We integrate ourselves more intimately with the labor movement, to the end that mutual aid, good faith, and democracy may result in our schools and in our communities.

It further recommends that each local publicize this action to its membership.

### The Taft-Hartley Law

WHEREAS, The Taft-Hartley law is a direct attack on organized labor; and

WHEREAS, The AFT is on record as opposed to the Taft-Hartley law; and

WHEREAS, It will be a major issue in the next election; therefore be it

*Resolved*, That the AFT go on record urging all teachers to vote for candidates for Congress who are pledged to repeal the Taft-Hartley law.



COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC TRENDS



# DEMOCRATIC HUMAN RELATIONS

**T**HERE have been some significant gains as well as setbacks in the struggle in the United States for practices in accordance with our basic principles of freedom and equality of all men.

The reports of the President's Committees on Civil Rights and on Higher Education, the Supreme Court decision barring the use of courts for enforcing restrictive covenants, the granting of citizenship to many Japanese residents, and the many individual achievements by AFT locals and community groups—all indicate a significant growth of democratic public opinion.

We cannot ignore, however, the increasing evidences of reaction which were set in motion by the war and its aftermath, and which are now jeopardizing the gains made thus far.

The American Federation of Teachers, therefore, must work *all the harder* both within the organization and without for those principles which make education and thereby all America more democratic. In order to do this it is essential that each year's work should strengthen and expand that of the preceding year. For this reason the report of the Committee on Democratic Human Relations will not contain much that is new but rather recommend those activities which it deems will best bring to realization its 1947 convention report. In this way we can get beyond mere "resolving" and discover better ways of eliminating the difficulties blocking our goal. . . .

1. Apropos of separate locals, the committee recommends a statement of national policy that segregated locals are basically a violation of Section 9, Article 3 of the AFT constitution, which states:

"No discrimination shall ever be shown toward individual members because of race, religious faith, or political activities or belief, except that no applicant whose political actions are subject to totalitarian control such as Fascist, Nazi, or Communist shall be admitted to membership."

2. Further, the committee recommends that any group requesting a charter shall be informed of this policy; and before granting any separate charter, the national office, in cooperation with representatives of local AFL mixed unions, shall bring together any groups seeking a separate charter, for the purpose of considering the desirability of forming a *single* local.

A record of all negotiations, successful or unsuccessful, in establishing one local, shall be kept by the Secretary-Treasurer and be made available to locals requesting the information. The locals shall treat the information as confidential.

3. In regard to the separate locals which already *exist*, the committee recommends several cooperative activities to give separate locals the experience of working together and ultimately of forming one local:

(a) That the Executive Council of the AFT be specifically authorized to assist locals in establishing a joint board to plan and supervise several joint committees of the two locals to work on common school problems and others of mutual interest, including the question of merger, if it is considered feasible at the time.

(b) That the Executive Council, in cooperation with the locals and with the local Central Trades, organize a workshop, an institute, or a lecture series on some topic of special interest in the area.

(c) That the Executive Council arrange a joint meeting of the two locals to receive the reports of the joint board and the joint committees and take up any other matters of mutual interest.

(d) That the Executive Council report to the next convention the success or failure of any of these activities, the reasons for the failures, and the work necessary for success.

4. Further recommendations of the committee to the 1948 convention are:



COMMITTEE ON  
DEMOCRATIC  
HUMAN  
RELATIONS

(a) A continuation of the scholarship by the Committee on Democratic Human Relations to the AFT summer workshop.

(b) A course, in the AFT workshop, on techniques in education for better human relations.

(c) A re-submission to the U.S. Office of Education of the program presented last October by a committee of the AFT, so that the Office of Education will adopt a more positive program than that at present for safeguarding and extending our democracy.

(d) Support of legislation which will bar discrimination and segregation in schools, colleges, and professional schools and in the employment and assignment of minority group teachers.

(e) A campaign among school boards to adopt such practices in teacher training, in school administration, and in school relationships as will make the schools effective agents for strengthening and expanding democracy.

(f) The preparation by the Committee on Democratic Human Relations, in cooperation with the Washington locals, of a small pamphlet on the undemocratic practices current in Washington and on the AFT program for education for democratic human relations.

(g) Preparation by the AFT Washington representative, in cooperation with the AFL legal staff, of legislation which will enforce the recommendations of the President's Committees on Civil Rights and on Higher Education.

In conclusion, we quote from the report, "To Secure These Rights": All of our governments, federal, state, and local must be uncompromising enemies of discrimination, which is prejudice come to life. In turn, they must be reinforced by education—*education through carefully planned experience* to break down the fears of groups; *education through information* to dispel ignorance about

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heritage and our civil rights. There is no need to choose between these approaches. *Neither one* is adequate for the complete securing of our rights; *both are indispensable to it.*

## CIVIL and PROFESSIONAL RIGHTS of TEACHERS

The convention adopted the following statement of principles upon which sound tenure laws might be based

1. Tenure should be continuing from the initial date of employment.

2. Specific conditions of employment should be in writing, with copies of the terms in the hands of both the teacher and the employing agent.

3. The tenure of a teacher may be subject to a probationary period of not more than two school years. During the probationary period:

a) Adequate supervisory help should be provided by the employing agency to assist the teacher in adjusting himself to the position.

b) Notice of dismissal stating reasons should be given in writing not less than sixty days before the time the dismissal is to become effective. Dismissal under this clause should coincide with the end of the teaching year.

c) A probationary teacher should have adequate opportunity to correct or to remove defects that

may lead to dismissal.

d) In all other respects, the tenure of a probationary teacher is the same as after the probationary period.

4. Academic freedom in the teacher's field of instruction should be guaranteed.

5. No civil rights guaranteed other citizens shall in any way be impaired for a teacher.

6. After the probationary period, dismissal should be for statutory causes only, after reasonable notice in writing and an opportunity to be heard. The notice of dismissal should contain a specific statement of the charges and should inform the teacher of the right to either a public or a private hearing, at the discretion of the teacher. The teacher shall have the right to be represented by counsel, to require the production of witnesses and documentary evidence, and to have a full opportunity to answer the charges. A decision adverse



COMMITTEE ON CIVIL AND PROFESSIONAL RIGHTS OF TEACHERS

to the teacher shall be reviewable in the courts, where both parties should have the right to introduce additional evidence.

7. A tenure law should specify the causes for which a teacher may be dismissed. Statutory causes should include only such causes as impair the ability or qualifications to teach. Marriage of a woman teacher should not be a cause of dismissal. An employing agency should be limited to the causes of dismissal expressed in the law.

8. Dismissal because of reduction in staff or discontinuance of a department or position must be demonstrably bona fide and should be effective only at the close of a school year. There should be detailed provisions regarding seniority in the position, in the department, and in the system. In the event that after dismissal of a teacher a position becomes available for

which the teacher is qualified, such teacher shall have first claim upon that position in order of seniority. The teacher should have a reasonable opportunity to qualify for other positions.

9. Without his consent, a teacher shall not be transferred from his teaching field to another teaching field.

(A statement concerning transfers involving reduction in salary was referred to the standing committee on tenure for study and evaluation.)

\* \* \* \* \*

The convention also adopted the committee's recommendation that letters be sent to all members of the Board of Education in Washington, D.C., to commend them for their non-concurrence in the proposal of the Superintendent of Schools which was intended to restrict the civil rights of teachers in Washington, D.C. (See also page 4.)

## RESOLUTIONS

### Vice-Presidential Expenditures

WHEREAS, The geographical areas allocated to vice-presidents for organizational representation vary not only in size but also in servicing needs and in potential membership growth; and

WHEREAS, It has been the policy of the Executive Council to allot a flat maximum allowance of \$300 per year for organizational expenses to each vice-president; and

WHEREAS, The vice-presidents are the principal organizational representatives of the national organization in their respective areas; therefore be it

*Resolved*, That the Executive

Council budget the annual maximum organizational expenses of each vice-president in accordance with the needs and size of the respective geographical area to be serviced.

### Reviewing Statements of AFT Policy

WHEREAS, New delegates and new locals are frequently unfamiliar with the body of policy of the AFT; and

WHEREAS, Confusion frequently results from such lack of information; and

WHEREAS, Experience has shown that certain inconsistencies exist in previously approved AFT policies; therefore be it

*Resolved*, That in the interests of sound organizational procedure and the good name of the AFT, its policies be frequently reviewed with an eye to eliminating contradictory and obsolete positions; and be it further

*Resolved*, That as a beginning a committee be appointed to review all existing statements of policy and recommend retention, elimination, or modification; and be it further

*Resolved*, That such an analysis be mailed to all locals in time for their consideration in advance of the next convention; and be it further

*Resolved*, That appropriate action on the committee's report be taken at the next regular convention.



### Regional AFT Conferences

WHEREAS, A new type of meeting, the regional conference, has recently been tried, with no small success; and

WHEREAS, At least in the northeast, delegations from locals in the jurisdictions of several vice-presidents have attended such a conference; and

WHEREAS, Such meetings have afforded inspiration, information, and guidance to locals; and

WHEREAS, Such grass-root and spontaneous movements are in harmony with the spirit of democracy and innovation always shown by the AFT; and

WHEREAS, Such meetings promote more effective action on all levels; therefore be it

*Resolved*, That the Executive Council be directed to take such action, in the form of a proposed amendment or otherwise, as will recognize such regional conferences as in harmony with national policy and will define the extent of their powers.

### Increasing the Income Of the National

WHEREAS, The present finances of the national office are clearly insufficient to meet the demands of the organization; and

WHEREAS, Voluntary contributions are seldom dependable or adequate; and

WHEREAS, Money invested in the national by the locals results in great benefit, not otherwise obtainable, to all; and

WHEREAS, It is clearly the duty of locals to make full payment to the national on its total membership at present salaries; therefore be it

*Resolved*, That the Executive Council be instructed to submit to the next convention an amendment to

the constitution, revising the present per capita tax schedule with the purpose of increasing the revenues of the AFT; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the Executive Council be instructed to take steps to insure a better system of accounting on the part of locals, to the end that each local pay its fair share of the national costs.

### Officers' Reports

WHEREAS, Mimeographed copies of officers' reports are available to convention delegates; and

WHEREAS, The program of the convention never allows sufficient time for the complete transaction of the business of the convention; therefore be it

*Resolved*, That detailed mimeographed reports of officers and executive employees be included in the convention envelopes and that platform reports be brief and deal largely with the disposition of the mandates of the previous convention.

### Plan for Training Volunteer Organizers

WHEREAS, The job of union organizer and field worker requires special skills and innate talents, and the job of organizing and servicing teachers' unions requires in addition a knowledge of education and public administration; and

WHEREAS, At present it seems impossible to find and afford such full-time organizers and field workers; and

WHEREAS, Volunteer AFT members, including those who are successful leaders in their own locals, either fail, like unskillful, faint-hearted salesmen, to make the right approach or lack the ability to close the sale when confronted with an opportunity to organize; therefore

be it

*Resolved*, That a committee be appointed by the Executive Council to prepare a plan for training and guiding such volunteer organizers and field workers, such plan to take the form of a manual, a short but intensive course of training to be offered in various regions, or any other device that may recommend itself to the committee.

### The Voting Record of Executive Council Members

WHEREAS, Under present conditions, no member of the AFT knows the position of any Executive Council member on the matters before the Council; and

WHEREAS, Such knowledge is imperative if the members are to vote intelligently on Executive Council members running for re-election; and

WHEREAS, It is a fundamental democratic principle that the actions of elected representatives be a matter of record; therefore be it

*Resolved*, That the voting record of every member of the Executive Council on everything except routine business be made a part of the minutes of each meeting; and be it further

*Resolved*, That such information be made available to each individual member of the AFT, perhaps through publication in the AMERICAN TEACHER.

### Distribution of Minutes of Executive Council Meetings

*Resolved*, That minutes of the meetings and the voting record of the members of the Executive Council and its Executive Committee, together with a summary of the issues dealt with between regular meetings, be distributed to locals within a reasonable time after each meeting.



COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

### Associate Memberships

WHEREAS, In many schools of education and in universities and colleges there is a strong interest in the AFT among students preparing for the teaching profession; and

WHEREAS, Other professional organizations are presenting their programs effectively through student affiliate organizations on college campuses; and

WHEREAS, It is becoming increasingly important that an understanding of labor philosophy and teacher organization be made available to students in education; therefore be it

*Resolved*, That the Executive Council be instructed to submit to the next convention an amendment to the constitution, creating an associate organizational status for prospective teachers in teachers' colleges and in schools of education in colleges and universities.

### "Trouble Shooters"

WHEREAS, The vice-presidents of the AFT are regularly employed teachers whose time is not free; and

WHEREAS, Many situations arise among locals which call for the assistance of an experienced person who may need to spend some time counseling the local in its negotiations; and

WHEREAS, The area vice-president may be unable to devote the necessary time to this task; therefore be it

*Resolved*, That where the situation warrants, the AFT provide, at the expense of the national office, experienced "trouble shooters" who can spend the time required to assist a local.

### Orientation Meeting for Convention Delegates

*Resolved*, That time be provided on the evening of the opening day for an orientation meeting for the purpose of clarifying convention procedures, including the functioning of the various caucuses.

### Amnesty

WHEREAS, The Presidential Pardon Proclamation of December 1947 pardoned only 1,523, or ten per cent of the total number of violators of the Selective Service Act, and previous to this date only 618 others, who entered the army, were pardoned; and

WHEREAS, The report of the President's Amnesty Board on which these few pardons were based was stated to be a final report, although amnesty is by definition a general pardon to a whole group suffering disabilities because of a common offense; and

WHEREAS, This leaves several hundred men still in prison and over 13,000 deprived of the vital civil and economic rights, including in most states the right to vote and to enter many forms of employment; and

WHEREAS, This report, by its narrow definition of conscience, its discrimination against humanitarian objectors on the one hand and against Jehovah's Witnesses on the other hand, has offended the basic American principle of religious freedom; and

WHEREAS, This report specifically discriminated against conscientious objectors who protested against forced labor in Civilian Public Service camps or against segregation and other injustices in the prison system;

it also discriminated against political objectors including Negroes, Puerto Rican nationalists, and Hopi and other Indians; and

WHEREAS, The war, which occasioned the passage of Selective Service and these violations by men who opposed war and conscription, has been over for nearly three years, and the Selective Service Act has expired; and

WHEREAS, American military governments in both Germany and Japan have granted amnesties to hundreds of thousands of former enemies including avowed fascists; and

WHEREAS, The continued penalizing of men who have already been punished by heavy prison sentences is both unnecessary and a reflection on the strength of American democracy; therefore be it

*Resolved*, That this convention urge upon the President of the United States the immediate granting of a general amnesty to all who for reasons of conscience violated the Selective Service Act.

\* \* \* \*

The convention also adopted a resolution calling upon AFT locals to exercise vigilance to keep the Moral Rearmament Movement and all other such movements out of the public schools and the labor movement.

\* \* \* \*

Two resolutions were referred to the Executive Council: one of these urged that the AFT constitution be amended to make it possible for a teacher living in an area where there was no AFT local to become a member-at-large in the state federation, the other concerned the subsidization of state federations by the national organization.



COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION

# LEGISLATION

## Displaced Persons

WHEREAS, Displaced persons legislation has been enacted by the 80th Congress; and

WHEREAS, The procedures for selection and admittance of displaced persons into the United States under this Act are discriminatory; therefore be it

*Resolved*, That the AFT direct its Executive Council to cooperate with other interested groups to remove the discriminatory features of this legislation.

## F.E.P.C.

WHEREAS, Discrimination in employment because of race, creed, color, or source of national origin persists in all parts of the United States; and

WHEREAS, Private industry is doing little to combat this un-American practice; and

WHEREAS, Such discrimination is likely to increase in times of relatively high unemployment; and

WHEREAS, Fair Employment Practices acts have recently been successful in several states of the United States; therefore be it

*Resolved*, that the AFT urge the Congress of the United States to enact legislation prohibiting discrimination in employment on account of race, creed, color, or source of national origin, within the District of Columbia or any other subdivision of the United States, whether state, territory, or dependency.

## Poll Tax Repeal

WHEREAS, The payment of a poll tax is still required by several states for the privilege of voting; and

WHEREAS, This practice results in the virtual elimination of Negroes as effective participants in the government of the said states; and

WHEREAS, Americans of other groups are similarly disfranchised; and

WHEREAS, In such states the favored group has an undue share in the selection of the President of the United States and members of Congress; therefore be it

*Resolved*, That the AFT urge the Congress of the United States to enact legislation forbidding all states to require the payment of a poll tax as a requirement for voting in federal elections.

## Elimination of Racial

### Segregation in Interstate Travel

WHEREAS, Racial segregation on public carriers, interstate and intrastate, continues throughout the southeastern portion of the United States; and

WHEREAS, This is directly against the spirit of the Fourteenth Amendment; and

WHEREAS, A recent decision of the Supreme Court of the United States outlawing segregation on busses engaged in interstate travel has been practically ignored by the southeastern states; and

WHEREAS, Legislative action is, therefore, needed to end this unfair and discriminatory practice, and the Congress of the United States should act to implement the decision of the United States referred to above; therefore be it

*Resolved*, That the AFT urge the Congress of the United States to enact legislation prohibiting all racial segregation on railroads, busses, steamboats, airplanes, and all other carriers engaged in interstate transportation throughout the United States.

## Anti-Lynching Bill

WHEREAS, The form of mob murder known as lynching continues to occur in the United States; and

WHEREAS, This practice undermines our democratic institutions and makes paradoxical our national effort to promote the development of democracy in other nations; and

WHEREAS, State governments are not eradicating this form of mob murder rapidly enough; therefore be it

*Resolved*, That the AFT urge the Congress of the United States to enact into law the Anti-Lynching Bill introduced at the last session of the 80th Congress.

## Social Security

*Resolved*, That the Executive Council of the AFT take any steps necessary to protect the existing pension rights of public employees. (See the section of Miss Borchardt's report entitled "Social Security and Teachers' Pension Systems," page 21.)

## Low Cost Housing

WHEREAS, the housing shortage continues throughout the United States, and

WHEREAS, This shortage weighs very heavily on low income groups, and

WHEREAS, Private industry, by itself, seems unable to correct the difficulty; therefore be it

*Resolved*, That the AFT express its regret to the Congress of the United States for its failure to pass the Taft-Wagner-Ellender low cost housing bill at its last session, and strongly urge that such bill be passed at the next opportunity by the Congress of the United States.

## Restriction of Civil Liberties in Washington, D.C.

The convention also adopted the proposal made by the committee on legislation, that the AFT set up a committee to study the restriction of civil liberties in Washington, D.C., in order to bring in recommendations for action which American teachers and labor may undertake to correct these abuses.

## Executive Council Action On Unfinished Business

*Working Conditions*: Adopted committee's resolutions. (See next issue.)

*International Relations*: Same action as for Working Conditions Committee.

*Taxation and School Finance*: Adopted committee's report and referred material prepared by the committee to the AFT workshops.

*Union Services*: Referred committee's report to the AMERICAN TEACHER, with directions to use whatever parts seemed suitable and to refer to the Executive Council any matters of policy which are not clear.

*Union Techniques*: Adopted committee's report and referred it to the AFT workshops. (Eventually the report will become a part of an AFT handbook.)

*Officers' Reports*: Accepted the majority report of the committee. (For further details see the next issue.)



# 3 R's Add Another— R for Refreshment



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